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IN
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D. Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London)

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PREFACE

My friend Dr. Bijanraja Chatterjee has rendered a great service to us by giving a popular exposition of his researches into the history of Hindu Colonisation—a branch of study in which he has specialised. His "Indian Political and Cultural Influence in Cambodia, from the 6th. to the 14th. century," won for him the Pan. degree of the University of London. The work will soon be placed before the public. Meanwhile we, on behalf of the Greater India Society, offer him our best thanks for popularizing the history of Indian Cultural Colonisation of Insulinadia. This bulletin gives only the first instalment of his studies. He has kindly agreed to prepare another important bulletin: the Corpus of the Sanskrit Inscriptions found in Java, together with his notes, comments and translation. This is under preparation and I take this opportunity to announce the same to the friends and sympathisers of the Greater India Society.

KALIDAS NAID



S. S. C.

NOTE

In this Bulletin I have tried to give a general idea of Indian Culture of Java and Sumatra in a popular way. In this connection I desire to express my indebtedness to Prof. Dr. Otto Hagedorn, Dean of the School of Oriental Studies, London, who introduced me to the standard Dutch works on the subject, guided me in my studies on the history of Javahindia and read with me several important texts. I am specially thankful to Dr. Hagedorn for his help as regards the sections on Shrivijaya and the Javanese Ramayana.

B. C.

AN OUTLINE OF INDO-JAVANESE HISTORY

THE material on which Sir Stanford Raffles based his history of ancient Java, viz., comparatively recent Javanese tradition, has but little historical value. We have to go back to the ancient inscriptions of the Malay Archipelago, contemporary notices in Chinese annals and Kavi chronicles, like the *Nagarakertagama* and the *Pararaton*, in order to reconstruct the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history. Within the last thirty years Dutch scholars like Kuhn, Brandes and Krom have accomplished much in this direction.

The mention of Java in the *Kamyana*, where Sogdiana sends out searching parties in quest of *Stata* to the four cardinal points, is well-known. Professor Sylvain Lévi would ascribe to this passage a date not later than the first century A. D. Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography about the middle of the 2nd century A.D., refers to Java as *Jabodius* (*Yavadvipa*)—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley. Thus the Sanskrit name of the island was already known to *Southerners*. Chinese chronicles mention that about 132 A. D. The Pan (*Dava Varman?*) the king of *Yo-tiao* (*Yavadvipa*), sent an embassy to China. The Emperor presented to The Pan a seal of gold and a violet ribbon.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered come not from Java but from eastern Borneo. They are not dated, but on palaeographical grounds they have been assigned to the fourth century A.D. The script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and that of the earliest inscriptions of Champa and Kamboja. The language is tolerably good Sanskrit. The inscriptions tell us of one *Ashvaramana*, the founder of a noble race. Foremost among his sons was *Mahavarma*, the lord of kings, who had celebrated a *bahuvaccaravaka* sacrifice, for which ceremony state paper (sacrificial posts) had been prepared by Brahmins. Fragments of these stone posts have been discovered along with the inscription.

The next series of inscriptions tell us of *Purnavarman* of Western Java. These, too, are not dated, but, on account of their archaic character, have been ascribed to the middle of the 5th century A. D. The script is the same Pallava script as is found in early Borneo and in the Indo-Chinese epigraphy of Champa and Kamboja. *Purnavarman* calls himself the lord of the *Taruma-nagara* (near

Batavia), and one of the inscriptions refers to the construction of two canals, Chandrabhaga and Gomati. It is to be noted that both the names are those of rivers of North India. On two of the inscriptions the foot-prints of Puruṣavarman himself are carved and compared with those of Viśnu, while on a third the footmarks of the king's elephant are cut into the stone.

It might have been during the reign of Puruṣavarman or one of his immediate predecessors that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien reached West Java from Ceylon. Fa-hien writes that in this country there were many Brahmins but that the Buddhist religion here was not of sufficient importance to be worth mentioning. Then he mentions that after a short stay he sailed for Canton (in 413 A.D.) in a merchant vessel which had 300 Hindu traders on board.

Buddhism was probably first preached in Java by Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir, in 423 A.D. From Java Guṇavarman proceeded to China in a ship belonging to a Hindu of the name of Nandi.

The next mention of Java is also from a Chinese source. We learn from the history of the first Sung dynasty that, in the year 435 A.D., the king of Ja-va-da whose name was Sri-pa-da-da-sa-la-pa-sa (Śrīpāda Damaravarma?) sent an envoy to the Chinese court to present a letter.

Another Chinese chronicle, which covers the first half of the 6th century A.D., describes a kingdom of the name of Lan-ga-sa on the N.W. coast of Java. "The people say that this kingdom was established more than 400 years ago. It once happened that a king of this country was very unsatisfactory in his rule. One of his relations was a cleric monk and therefore the people began to turn towards him. The king drove him out of the realm, whereupon his kinsman went to India and there married the daughter of a ruler of that country. When the king of Lan-ga-sa died, the exiled prince was called back by the nobles to be their king." The son of this king sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor which is characterised by a fervent Buddhist tone.

It seems that towards the end of the 6th century, Western Java fell into decay and Central Java rose into prominence. The new history of the Tang dynasty mentions a kingdom of the name of Kalliga in Central Java and describes embassies which came from this kingdom and from Bali in the period 637-649.

In 671 A.D. the people of this realm took as their ruler a lady of the name of Śiva. Her rule was most excellent, even things dropped on the road were not picked up. An Arab chief (an Arab colony existed on the Western coast of Sumatra from an early date) sent a bag of gold

to be laid down within her frontiers. The people avoided it in walking and it remained untouched for three years. Once the crown-prince stepped over that gold and Queen Sime was so angry with him that she wanted to have him executed. There was however a compromise and the prince's toes, which had touched the bag of gold, were cut off."

We hear no more of this kingdom of Kalinga in Java. Our next source of information is the Jenggal inscription of Central Java, of the Shaka year 684 (322 A. D.) the first dated record which we have got as yet from Java. The script (Pallava Grantha) and the language (Kaverit) both closely resemble the characters and the style of the Han Choy inscription of Shrivatman, the king who reigned in Kamboja about the middle of the 6th century. This Central Javanese inscription is a Shaiva document and refers to the reconstruction of a Shaiva temple on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kusjara Kusja. Probably this Kusjara Kusja is to be identified with the ashrama of Agastya of that name in South India. Two kings of Central Java, Samudra and Samjaya (father and son), are mentioned here as having ruled long on this earth with justice like Manu. Perhaps the Shaiva temples on the Dieng plateau should be ascribed to this period. A later Javanese chronicle describes extensive conquests of Samjaya beyond the boundaries of Java. Princes of Sumatra, Bali and the Malay Peninsula are said to have yielded after severe fighting and acknowledged his supremacy.

Another Shaiva inscription discovered at Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated 682 Shaka (790 A. D.), describes the construction of a black stone image of Agastya Rishi. This was done by the order of king Gajayana, the benefactor of Brahmins and the worshipper of Agastya, who had seen an image of the Rishi constructed out of Devadaru wood by his ancestors. "In order to get rid of this image of Agastya Kumbhayoni was consecrated in tumbala-laga by the strong-minded king in the fine Mahari-bhawan."

It may be mentioned in this connection that Agastya is referred to again in another inscription which is dated a century later (785 S-843 A. D.) and which is partly in Sanskrit verse and partly in Kavi. Kavi is a mixture of Sanskrit and a Polynesian dialect. There Agastya is also invoked under the Javanese name of Valaka. A temple of the name of Bhadrakali is mentioned in this inscription as having been built by Agastya himself and in the concluding lines there is a prayer offered for the peace and prosperity of the descendants of the Maharsi who, it seems, had settled down in Java.

In the meantime, however, important political changes had come over Central Java, which had passed, about the

middle of the 8th century, from the hands of the Shailva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra. Chinese records tell us that a Hinduised Kingdom of Palembang existed in Sumatra in the 8th century A.D. A learned French savant, M. Coedès, has made a most remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient history of Farther India by identifying Palembang with Shri Vijaya, the San-fo-tsi of the Chinese. We now know that the Shailendra dynasty of Shri Vijaya ruled over a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Nagapatan (near Madras) at the expense of a king of this Sumatran dynasty with the permission of a Chola prince. A Salanda copper plate of Devayala records the grant of some villages by the Pala sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a Monastery at Salanda which was built at the instance of Balagutradara of the Shailendra dynasty of Suvarnasadvipa (Sumatra) out of his devotion to Buddhism. Evidently therefore Shri Vijaya or Palembang in Sumatra had become a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism since the days of I-tsing, who towards the end of the 7th century described it as a great centre of Hinayana learning.

To come back to Java, an inscription found near the lovely temple of Salaman in Central Java and dated 700 Shaka (518 A.D.) tells us that this temple of Tara was built at the command of the Shailendra king of Shri Vijaya in his own kingdom. Apparently the Javanese possessions were governed by viceroys on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. A remarkable fact is that this inscription is not in the Pallava script of South India, but in a North Indian alphabet. In my work on ancient Cambodia I have tried to show that the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism and a North Indian script in Cambodia should also be associated with the dominating influence of Shri Vijaya. Moreover, this North Indian script of Java and Cambodia is obviously more akin to Bengali than to the Deva-Nagari characters. This feature and the curious combination of Mahayana Buddhism with Taoistic elements and Shailva doctrines to be found henceforth in Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, have led me to suggest in the above-mentioned work that from the 8th century onwards, South Indian influence seems to be on the wane in Farther India, which, in religion and in art, comes more and more under the sway of Pala Bengal and Magadha.

Central Java did not languish under the rule of the Shri Vijaya kings. This is the classic period of Javanese architecture. Borobudur—that optic in stone—is also to be ascribed to this period. The image of Avalokitesvara in the Candi Mendut is one of the happiest efforts of Javanese sculpture and can stand comparison with the best specimens

dresses." About 1104 A. D. flourished at the court of King Varendjaya the poet Triguna, who was the author of the Kavi poems *Sarasa-mastaka* and *Krishnagana*. About 1120 A. D. reigned Kameswara, who has been identified with the famous hero Raden Panji of the Panji romance, still as popular in Java. He was married to Chandu Kleras—a princess of Jangala—"with whom the king always sat on the golden lion-throne," and he was the hero of all sorts of adventures. His court-poet was Hpu Dharmaja, who composed the *Sesara-dahana*. (The burning of the God of Love).

Between 1135 and 1155 A. D. Jayabaya, who is remembered to this day in Java, was on the Kediri throne. During his reign the poet Penzeloh wrote the *Bharata Yuddha* and the *Harivamsa*. Later on Mahabharata episodes were adapted in such a way that the scene of the great battle was shifted to Java and the heroes were transformed into Javanese princes and thus became the ancestors of noble Javanese families. King Jayabaya is described in the *Bharata Yuddha* as a great conqueror who succeeded in overcoming even the ruler of Sumatra. The tradition still exists in Java that Jayabaya will come back and restore the golden age. He was a Vaishnava prince.

The rulers of Kediri also made their influence felt in foreign relations. In 1129 A. D. Kameswara received from the Chinese Emperor the title of King. We learn from Arab sources that Javanese merchants traded up to the vicinity of Sofala (on the southeast coast of Africa) opposite Madagascar. There were numerous Negro slaves at the court of the Javanese princes. Indeed M. Gabriel Fournet has been led to the conclusion by linguistic evidence and by the accounts of Arab and early Portuguese travellers that Madagascar was colonised in the first centuries of the Christian era by Hinduised emigrants from Sumatra and Java. In the 10th century, he states, there was a new migration to Madagascar from the Malay Archipelago.

Early in the 13th century Kediri had to submit to the adventurer Ken Arok with whose romantic career we have now to deal. We have ample material for the history of Java from the 13th century onwards for both the *Nagarakertagama* and the *Pararaton*, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, cover the Singhasari and the Majapahit periods. The *Pararaton* continues its narrative up to 1478 A. D. i.e. the end of the Hindu period of Javanese history, while the *Nagarakertagama* stops in the year 1293 during the reign of Hyam Wuruk—the author Prapancha being the court-poet of that great monarch.

The *Pararaton* begins with the story of Ken Arok—the ancestor of the rulers of the Singhasari and Majapahit

kingdoms. He is described as the incarnation of Vishnu, the incarnation of Vishnu and a near relation of Shiva. Being thus a superman, he hesitated at nothing. He was guilty of theft, murder and of every conceivable crime. One day while he sat in a gambling den, he met a Brahman who had come from India for the sole purpose of seeing him. This Brahman had come to know from supernatural sources in India that Vishnu had incarnated himself in Java in the person of Ken Arok. With the Brahman's help Ken Arok got into the service of the prince of Singasari (or Tamasapah, a vassal chief of Kediri). Then he falls in love with the wife of the prince, Dedes—the most beautiful woman in Java, of whom had been foretold that her husband would be a Chakravarti monarch. After a series of disreputable adventures the Kediri prince is disposed of by means of a dagger which is destined to prove fatal to Ken Arok and his descendants down to the 7th generation. Ken Arok ascended the throne of Singasari in 1229, married Queen Dedes and soon reduced the neighbouring principalities of Jangala and Kediri to submission. He assumed the title of Rajasa Sang Amurvakulani and had succeeded in consolidating his conquests before he was murdered in 1237. The celebrated image of *Perjas-parvati*, perhaps the most exquisite specimen of the Indo-Javanese school of sculpture, is ascribed to his reign, and is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

The reign of Kertanagara (1268-1292 A.D.), the fourth ruler of Singasari after Ken Arok, was full of events which formed a turning point in Javanese history. Kertanagara, even in his lifetime, was adored as Shiva-Buddha, but in reality he was weak and frivolous and brought disasters on his state. Without taking care to make his position secure at home, he frittered away his resources in expeditions to Malaya (in Sumatra), Bali, Bakulapura (in S.W. Borneo), etc. His inordinate pride led him to insult the envoy of the Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan. Meanwhile a vassal of his, Jayakatong of Kediri (or Daha), rose in revolt against him. Kertanagara's son-in-law, Raden Wijaya, tried in vain to resist the rebel chief, who made his entry into Singasari. Kertanagara was slain and Wijaya escaped to Madura (the island to the north of Java). He came back again, however, entered the service of his former enemy Jayakatong and served him with a carefully feigned faithfulness. With that prince's permission, Raden Wijaya founded a new town on a waste land which came to be known as Majapahit (*Bilva-pitha*) from a bad tree with bitter fruit found growing on the site. Wijaya was all the while biding his opportunity, which came in 1292 A.D. with the arrival of the Chinese troops sent by Kubilai Khan

to avenge the insult offered to his navy. At the instigation of Raden Wijaya the Chinese generals moved against Jayakatong of Kediri, who perished in the conflict. His enemy being thus disposed of, Raden Wijaya then attacked the Chinese troops, who, astonished at this treachery, retreated to their ships and sailed away to China without having accomplished anything. Kublai Khan was highly incensed at the failure of this expedition and condemned one of his generals, a Mongol, to receive seventeen lashes.

Raden Wijaya, having got rid of all his foes, ascended the throne of Majapahit, in 1294 A. D., the town which he himself had founded, and, assuming the title of Krtanegara Jayawardhana, made himself the overlord of East Java. A fine statue of this first sovereign of Majapahit, erected in the temple built near his ashes, represents him as Vishnu with all the sacred symbols. This practice of identifying deceased monarchs with the divinities they worshipped in their lifetime was common in ancient Cambodia as well as in Java.

The son of Krtanegara, who succeeded him, was a worthless ruler. The third sovereign of Majapahit was the great queen Tribhuvanottunggadewi Jayarajawardhani—the eldest daughter of Krtanegara. She shared her royal position with her mother Gayatri (a devout Buddhist) and her sister Rajadewi. Her husband, the Prince-Consort, was the chief justice of the realm. It was, however, Gajamada, the prime-minister, who was the most masterful personality at her court. One day in a cabinet meeting he declared that he would not touch the income from his estate till West Java, Bali and the chain of islands to the east of it, Batakayan in S.W. Borneo, Palembang or Sbei Wijaya in Sumatra and Pahang and Singapore (Singapore) in the Malay Peninsula were conquered by Majapahit. This solemn vow was received with jeers and contemptuous laughter. Gajamada, keenly feeling the insult, laid his complaint before the queen. The officers had to clear out and Gajamada received the royal permission to carry out his policy.

Bali was overrun in 1343. The powerful prince of Badakulu in Bali was slain and as he was the overlord of the chain of islands to the east of Java and of Madura and a portion of the Celebes—this was a great triumph for Majapahit.

Probably the other conquests were achieved during the next reign, that of Hayam Wuruk, under whom Gajamada continued to serve as prime-minister.

To this period belong the curious inscriptions of Adityawarman—a prince of Sumatra who was a rebel and a vassal of the queen of Majapahit. The language

of these inscriptions is very obscure but they clearly show the prevalence of Taitric doctrines in Sumatra and Java. De Haer Moore, in the *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Genootschap*, 1904 (3 and 4), thus interprets these stories, which were obviously meant to mystify the reader:—"In 1309 Saka in the month of Jaishtya, prince Adityavarman received on a cremation ground the highest consecration, thereby gaining salvation, becoming a Kshetrāja, under the name of Vistara Dharani,—enthroned in solitary state (on a heap of corpses), laughing violently and drinking blood—while his Mahapendita (i.e. the human sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around an awful smell, which however to the initiate seemed like the perfume of a million flowers." After his death Adityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokitesvara.

In this connection may also be mentioned the Taitric practices ascribed to Krtanagara (the last King of Singasari) by Prapanca—the author of the *Nagarakertagama*—who was living at the court of Majapahit at this time. We have already mentioned that Krtanagara was supposed to be an incarnation of Shiva-Buddha. He also received consecration on a cremation ground and thus became identified with the Jina Akshobhya. The *Nagarakertagama* also refers to the Taitric Chakra rites diligently carried out by Krtanagara, who was also an adept in still darker practices.

The *Sang Hyang Karmahayagrīha*, which belongs to this period and which calls itself a text of Mantrayāna Mahayāna, also bears the impress of Taitricism. A passage in it refers to Brahma, Viṣṇu and Shiva as the emanations of the Dhyaṇi Buddha Vairocana.

This discussion on the prevalence of Taitric doctrines in Java and Sumatra would serve to show how the decadence of both Hinduism and Buddhism paved the way for the success of Islam in these islands.

To return to Queen Jayawikramawardhani, she withdrew from the affairs of state when her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the "young cock") became of age in 1309 A. D. The reign of Hyam Wuruk (his royal title was Shri Rajasamudra) saw the great expansion of Majapahit. This was due mostly to the genius of Gajendra, who, till his death in 1364, continued loyally to serve the king. Both the *Nagarakertagama* and the *Pararaton* give us a list of the countries which, during this reign, belonged to Majapahit and this list is of a quite respectable length. According to it the empire of Majapahit included at this time all the islands between Java and New Guinea—the south and western part of the last mentioned island also acknowledging the sway of Majapahit. Moreover

Bocao, South and West Celebes, Batae, Bata, Ceram (Amboin), Banda, Banggai, the W. Molucca Isles, Talont, etc., are all included in this list of dependencies. Then we come to the petty islets between Bocao and the Malay Peninsula. On the Malay Peninsula itself Kedah, Kelang, Singapore, Pahang, Kelantan, etc., belonged to Majapahit. Finally the great island of Sumatra, including Palembang or Shrivijaya, so much part of this powerful empire. Thus was carried out the scheme of Gajamada on a larger scale than he had planned originally. A part at least of these extensive conquests was achieved by an admiral of the name of Nala during the reign of Hyam Warak's mother.

After enumerating the conquests the *Nagarakertagama* mentions the countries in alliance with Majapahit Ayodhya and Rajapuri (both in Siam), Haratun (Martaban), Kamrupa, Champa and Yavana (North Arakan) were steadfast allies (enemies) of Majapahit. Madura, it should be noted, was not regarded as foreign territory—it was reckoned as part of Java itself.

These islands brought their tribute regularly to the court of Majapahit. Owing to the desire of H. M. Hyam Warak to further the general welfare, Brahmins and Bhujangas (learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after state affairs in these distant possessions. Shiva Bhujangas, besides their political work, were allowed to introduce the Shiva cult wherever they went, so that it might not dwindle away. But, for the Bhujangas of the Buddhist faith the whole of the West of Java was a forbidden ground as in ancient times there were no Buddhists there. But as regards Eastern Java and the islands to the east, the Buddhist Bhujangas were permitted to visit them. Two eminent Buddhist monks, Hwarada and Kutaran, established a system of land tenure in Bali on the Majapahit model.

The efforts of the Bhujangas, Prapancha tells us, met with great success. Whatever regions dared transgress the royal ordinances were attacked and severely punished by the admirals (*kalakrit-senapati*) of Majapahit—several of whom won great renown.

"Five is the number of the blameless ministers," is quote the *Nagarakertagama*, "who protect the realm." Members of the royal family ruled over many of the different parts of the kingdom but they appeared very often at the court of Majapahit to pay homage to the king. The principal queen, with the title of *Shri Parameswari*, was Rasmadana Dewi who is described by the poet Prapancha as an incarnation of Rati.

The *Nagarakertagama* gives a detailed account of the capital Majapahit (*Bhiva-sikha*) with its deep tanks, avenues of *Essar* and *Champek* trees, public squares, banars

palaces and the royal pavilion (the *Sura* hall) where the prime-minister (the *pati*), the *Aryas* and the "trusted five" (the *calaka*) approached the king of Tirta-sriptada (Majapahit). In the eastern part of the capital dwelt the *Shakra* Brahmins, of whom the very renowned *Brahmaraja* was the chief. In the Southern part lived the *Budhis*—the head of the *Rangha* being the *Sihavira Ranghannadi*. In the western part there were the houses of the *Kahadriyas*, ministers, etc.

As far as we can gather from contemporary sources, Buddhism flourished in aristocratic circles. That would explain the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which rose during this period. But it did not enter so much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is overwhelmingly Brahmanic. Even Buddhist poets wrote on episodes of the Hindu epics during the Majapahit period.

Dr. Vogel states that at this time Javanese plastic art presents a type which is much more Polynesian than Indian. This is to be noted especially in the highly fantastic sculptured panels of *Chandi Panalaran* in Eastern Java representing *Ramayana* scenes. Here we find strange figures of warriors, demons and monkeys mingled with deities—the deities in the quietest possible way. But this Polynesian style is confined to the exterior decoration of the temples of this period. The images inside the shrines are still of the genuine Indian type of Central Java, and many of these images bear inscriptions denoting their names in North-Indian characters which, from the specimens I have seen, resemble Bengali more than Nagari.

After the death of the great *Hyam Wuruk* in 1399 A.D., a rapid decline set in. A civil war between the son-in-law and the son of the deceased monarch proved disastrous for Majapahit. North Borneo, *Indragiri* in Sumatra and Malaka took this opportunity of shaking off the Javanese yoke. A terrible famine wrought havoc in Majapahit itself.

Of the last rulers of Majapahit we know but little, as the *Parastan* gives but the most meagre information. During the reign of *Rahita*, the grand-daughter of *Hyam Wuruk*, *Kediri* or *Daha* became independent under a rebel chief of the name of *Ekur Daba*. She was succeeded by her younger brother, *Krtasujaya*, who married a princess of *Champa*. This queen favoured Islam which must have strengthened its foothold in Java during this reign. She died in 1443.

According to the tradition still current in Java, the generosity of the last monarch of Majapahit, *Ria Vajra V*, towards the Mahomedans met with ingratitude. The last words of the dying king, after he had seen the overthrow

of his kingdom in 1478, were that foreigners would come some day from far over the seas and avenge him; and the Dutch claim to have fulfilled the prophecy.

But according to an inscription discovered by Dr. Kroen, it was a Hindu prince, *Ramarajaya*, who dealt the death-blow to Majapahit in 1478. *Ramarajaya* belonged to Kediri and was probably the son of *Blora Daba* who revolted during the reign of *Shubha*. The city was not however destroyed, as in 1521 we find it still mentioned as an important place. But after 1478 Majapahit ceased to be the capital, and the more important families fled to Bali. *Ramarajaya* or his successors must have been swept away ere long by the rapidly rising tide of Islam. For the Muslim period of Java begins from the end of the 15th century.

A few words on Bali would probably be not out of place here. According to the Javanese accounts, a number of Shalva Brahmins came (probably from India) to Majapahit just before its fall in 1478 and then fled to Bali. The Balinese Brahmins trace their descent from *Palanda* (*Pandita Vayu Bhutu*—a name which means, "the cowly arrived.") The five existing subdivisions of Brahmins in Bali are supposed to be descended from him and his five wives. *Buddhism* still survives in Bali but *Hinduism* is in the ascendant. At great feasts a *Buddhist* priest is invited to join four Shalva *pandita*. *Ida* is the title of Brahmins, *Dewa* that of *Kshatriyas*, *Gunai* of *Vaisyas*, while the *Shudras* are given a name of courtesy—*Rape* and *Mama* (see note). The *Kshatriya* princes of Bali trace their descent from *Dewa Agung*—a Majapahit prince who settled down in Bali. For a long time the Balinese chiefs did not forget Java. Easternmost Java and Western Bali have been rendered desolate by continuous wars between Java and Bali. Unsuccessful in Java, the Balinese princes conquered some of the islands to the east, Lombok, etc.

Only certain portions of the Vedas have survived in Bali. The *Brahmanda Purana* is probably complete. Under the heading of *Tutur* we have a miscellaneous collection of Sanskrit texts on Hindu law and polity, *Rajavali*, etc. This is almost all the Sanskrit literature Bali still possesses.

The *Ramayana* (which has not got the *Utthara Kanda*) exists in Bali in the Kawi language. The *Utthara Kanda* forms a separate work by itself. The name of the *Mahabharata* is not known in Bali but six of its parvas exist in a complete form in Kawi. The rest are incomplete.

Then there are the chronicles or *Balado*—e.g., the *Utara Java* and the *Utara Bali*. The last calls the island *Bali-ender*—the lap of the strong and valiant—thus fully expressing the bold, warlike spirit of the Balinese.

SRIVIJAYA—THE EMPIRE OF THE SHALENDRA MONARCHS OF SUMATRA

The archaeological monuments of the Hindu period in Sumatra are of small importance compared with those of Java. Moreover, in the last two centuries of the Hindu period of Javanese history under the Majapahit dynasty (1294-1480), Java acquired a pre-eminent position in the Archipelago. Thus the other islands were quite thrown into the shade by Java, which alone was considered to be important. But we must remember that Majapahit rose into importance only at the end of the 13th century A.D. and that both Java and Sumatra had been Hinduised more than a thousand years before that period.

From Chinese sources we learn that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang (formerly known as Srivijaya) existed in Sumatra in the 3rd century A.D. In the 10th century this kingdom of Sanfochi or Che-li-chia (the Chinese rendering of Srivijaya) ruled over 15 subject states. In the 10th century this Sumatran kingdom was conquered by Java, but soon recovered its independence. Early in the 13th century we find again a list of the subject countries of Srivijaya. In the 14th century it came under the sway of the Majapahit Kingdom of Java. But till very recently Sumatra was never considered to be very important in comparison with Java.

M. Georges Coedès has now given in his *Royaume de Srivijaya*, 1925, strong reasons for reconsidering this opinion. He was the first to identify Palembang with Srivijaya. In the 7th century A.D., Srivijaya included the Isle of Sumatra between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. In the 8th century it appears as a sovereign power as far north as the Malay Peninsula as the Bay of Pandan. In the 9th century it is mentioned in connection with a monastery at Palau in an inscription of Devapala of Bengal. In the 10th century Chola inscriptions ascribe a Buddhist temple built at Nagapattinam (near Madurai) to the Shalendra kings of Srivijaya. Shortly after that the Cholas of Southern India attacked Srivijaya and conquered it for a short time. But it soon recovered its power. Chao Ju-Kua, a Chinese author of the 13th century, mentions many places in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, etc., as acknowledging its suzerainty.

The Shalendra dynasty of the kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra professed Mahayana Buddhism. Now there is a temple in Central Java, the shrine of Balasan erected in honour of the Mahayana divinity Tara, which was constructed

In 178 A.D. by the order of a Buddhist King of the Shalendra dynasty of Shrivijaya. As the Kalam inscription mentions that the temple was in the King's own kingdom, we must conclude that Central Java was included in the empire of the Shalendra sovereigns in the second half of the 8th century. These Sarastrian monasteries built on a grand scale in Java (Barabodur, etc.) and were represented in that island by their *claustra*.*

It was probably also in the 8th century that the Shrivijaya fleet ranged the coast of Annam (Champa) and penetrated as far as the capital of Cambodia. A Champa inscription of 787 A.D. states that the attacks of 'Java' (spelt Java not Yava) coming on board ships burnt the shrine of Shri Bhadrakshipatisthara. Java here means Shrivijaya and not Java as both Java and Sumatra were called Java alike by foreigners. Kamboja (Cambodia) also did not escape these incursions. It is from the narrative of an Arab traveller of the 9th century that we get a dramatic account of it. The Arab merchant Sulayman had travelled in India and China and his accounts, written in 851 A.D., were commented upon by Abu Zayd Hasan about 918 A.D. In his description of the kingdom of Zabag (or Sribusa—the Arab name for Shrivijaya) occurs the following passage:—† "The King (of Zabag) is known by the title of Maharaja... He rules over numerous islands. The islands of Sribusa, Rami (Rami is another name for Sumatra—obviously the Arab traveller does not know that Zabag, Sribusa and Rami are all in Sarastria) belong to him... The maritime kingdom of Kalah (Kra) also acknowledges his sway... His own island is as fertile as a land can possibly be and the population is very dense and continuous". Then he proceeds to describe a curious custom of the Maharaja. Every morning, we are told, the treasurer brought to the king an ingot of gold of the shape of a brick which in the king's presence he threw into a lake near the palace. During the life-time of the king no one would touch these golden bricks. When he would die his successor would have these ingots taken out. After being counted and weighed they would be distributed among the members of the royal family, the generals, the servants and the poor. The number of these golden bricks and their total weight were then written in the official records and the prestige of a king would depend on the amount of gold he would leave behind. Then the Arab traveller proceeds to describe Kiamur (the indigenous name of Cambodia):—"According to the annals of Zabag there was once upon a

* Prof. Rosen—*Die Sarastrianische periode der Javanische Geschichte*—1919.

† *Relations de voyages et textes Géographiques Arabes*—par Gustave Ferard, 1922.

time a king of Khmer. Khmer is the country from which the spice Khmer is exported. It is not an island and there is no kingdom which possesses a larger population than Khmer (Cambodia)...All fermented liquors and every kind of debauchery are forbidden there; in the cities and throughout the kingdom one would not be able to find a single person leading a dissolute life...Between Khmer and Zabaj the distance is from 10 to 20 days by sea, according to the weather. It is narrated that there was once a king of Khmer who was young and rash. One day he was seated in his palace which holds a commanding position on the bank of a river resembling the Tigris (the distance between the palace and the sea being one day's journey) and he had his minister with him. He was discussing with his minister the magnificence of the kingdom of the Maharaja of Zabaj, the number of islands it comprised, etc., when the king said that he had a desire which he longed to satisfy. The minister, who was sincerely attached to him and who knew how rash the king was in his decisions, asked him about his desire. The king replied:—"I wish to see the head of the Maharaja of Zabaj before me on a plate." The minister understood that it was jealousy which had suggested the idea to his master and he replied:—"I do not like to hear my sovereign express such a desire. ...The kingdom of Zabaj is a distant island and is not in our neighbourhood. It had never shown any intention of attacking Khmer... No one should hear about this desire (expressed by the king) and the king should never mention it to anybody". The king became displeased with his minister and disregarding the advice of his loyal counsellor he repeated his statement to the generals and other courtiers who were present there. The news flew from mouth to mouth till it spread everywhere and it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja of Zabaj. He was an energetic sovereign, active and enterprising. He called his minister, told him what he had heard and then added that he must take some steps in this matter after what the foolish king of Khmer had said in public. Then telling the minister to keep the matter secret he bade him prepare a thousand ships and to man them with as many troops as possible. It was given out to the public that the Maharaja intended to make a tour through the islands included in his kingdom...The king of Khmer did not suspect anything till the Maharaja had reached the river leading to the capital and had landed his troops. The capital was taken by surprise and the king of Khmer was captured. The people fled before the foreign conqueror. But the Maharaja had it proclaimed by public edicts that nobody would be molested. Then he seated himself on the

throne of Khmer and ordered the king of Khmer and his minister to be summoned before him. The Maharaja asked the king of Khmer what had made him express such a desire. The king did not reply. Then the Maharaja said:—"You wished to see my head on a plate. If you had sincerely desired to seize my kingdom or to ravage it, I would have done the same to your country. But as you only intended to see my head cut off, I would confine myself to subjecting you to the same treatment and then I would return to my country without touching anything else in the kingdom of Khmer...This would be a lesson to your successors so that no one would be tempted to undertake a task beyond his powers." So he had the king beheaded. Then he addressed the minister:—"I know well the good advice you gave your master. What a pity that he did not heed it! Now seek somebody who can be a good king after this mad man and put him on the throne." Then the Maharaja returned to his own country without taking away himself or allowing any one else to take anything from Khmer. When he reached the capital he sat down on the throne which lays the late into which the golden bricks are thrown and had the head of the king of Khmer placed before him on a plate. Then he summoned the high functionaries of his State and told them why he had undertaken this expedition...Then he had the head embalmed and sent it in a vase to the new king of Khmer along with a letter to the effect that the Maharaja had only been forced to act like that on account of the feelings of hatred which the late king of Khmer had expressed towards him and that this chastisement should serve as a lesson to any one who would imitate the deceased prince. When this news reached the ears of the kings of India and China, the Maharaja of Zabaj rose in esteem in their eyes."

That this is not merely an Arabian Nights tale is proved by the fact that the important Cambodian inscription of *Sdok Kak Thum** mentions that on coming back from Java (early in the 9th century) Jayavarman II (one of the greatest of the Cambodian monarchs) built three capitals in succession. As these capitals were embellished with images of Avalokitesvara, apparently Jayavarman II had caught the spirit of the great building activity which the Mahayana Kings of Shrivijaya were at this time showing in Central Java. Another passage in this *Sdok Kak Thum* inscription suggests some close relation between the religion followed at first by Jayavarman II of Cambodia and that of Java or Shrivijaya (which held Central Java under its sway at that time) in

* First, *Notes d'Épigraphie*—p. 83-88—*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, Tome XV, 1915.

this passage Javanese took the Brahmin Hiranyadama, who came from Javapada, to draw up a ritual so that Kanchaja-desa might no longer be dependent on Java. It seems that Javanese ruler II, at first a fervent Mahayanist (like the Shrivijaya kings of Sumatra and Java), adopted a Vaishnava form of Hinduism, (for we hear of Hiranyadama teaching Vaishnava faith) to cut off all connection with Shrivijaya.

The Shailendra monarchs of Shrivijaya were zealous patrons of Mahayana Buddhism. Prof. Kern states that Dharmapala, the famous guru of Kalanda, passed his last years in Sumatra. As this island kingdom was in close touch with Magadha and Bengal, it must have derived its Mahayana Buddhism from these regions. Under the Pala Kings the Mahayana doctrines flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India. And it was a Mahayana creed with Devayana. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhist and Vaishnava doctrines in Sumatra, Java and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahayana inscriptions of the Shrivijaya Kings in Java are also written not in the South Indian Grantha characters—(as in the case with the earlier Javanese epigraphy) but in a North Indian script almost exactly like that of 6th-century inscriptions discovered at Kalanda. Indications from other sources, which need not be specified here in detail, point also to the same conclusion that if the early Shaiva cult in the Archipelago and Indo-China originated from South India, the later wave of Mahayana Buddhism should be traced to the influence of Magadha and Bengal.

To come back to our historical sketch, Central Java seems to have been recovered from Shrivijaya domination only in the 10th century by the Hindu Javanese prince from East Java. Antagonism between this Sumatran power and the Javanese rulers (who had shifted their headquarters to the eastern portion of the islands) continued well on into the 11th century. Indeed, Prof. Kern is of the opinion that the restoration of Java really took place only after Shrivijaya had to yield to an invasion from South India by a Chola King (about 1044 A.D.). After recovering her independence, Java, which had learnt a lesson, took care not to attack Palembang (Shrivijaya). The East Javanese monarchs turned their attention outwards—to Bali, etc. Meanwhile the great power of the West (Shrivijaya) continued to flourish. Towards the end of the 12th century Java and Sumbawa (Shrivijaya) are mentioned by Chinese authors as two most important commercial countries. The two great monarchies stood side by side, independent of each other and of equal power—the one (Shrivijaya) ruling the western and the other (Java) the eastern part of the Archipelago."

* N. J. Kern—*Die Sumatranische periode der Javanischen Geschichtskunde*.

Chen Ju Kua, a Chinese customs officer who wrote on Chinese and Arab trade in the 13th century,[†] devotes a chapter to Sankotal (Sankirajaya) :—“Sankotal is situated between Cambodia and Java....When the King goes out he sits in a boat and is sheltered by a silk umbrella and guarded by men bearing gold lances. The people live scattered about outside the city or on the water on rafts and these (rafters) are exempt from taxation. The people are skilled at fighting on land and water....In time of war they equip the chiefs and commanders ; each furnishes his own military equipment and the necessary provisions. For terrifying the enemy and defying death they have no equals. They use chopped-off lamps of silver in their business transactions....In writing official documents they use foreign characters (the Chinese chronicle of the Sung dynasty quotes this paragraph but substitutes ‘Sankirai’ for ‘foreign characters’). The laws of this country are very severe. Persons guilty of adultery are condemned to death. When the king dies the people observe mourning and shave their heads, while his personal followers choose voluntary death by leaping into the blazing pyre. This act is called ‘living and dying together’. There is in Sankotal a golden image of Buddha called the ‘Hill of Gold’. Every new king before ascending the throne, has a statue made of gold representing his person. The people offer vases of gold to these statues. These statues and vases bear inscriptions forbidding future generations to melt them. When a person is seriously ill, he distributes among the poor a sum equivalent to his weight in silver....The king has the title of ‘Long-being’. M. Pelliot believes that ‘Long-being’ signifies the seed of the dragon or the Naga. This is important as it would ascribe a Naga origin to the Shailendra rulers of Sumatra. In Cambodia also a Naga is the ancestor of the royal dynasty. M. Coedès thinks that these Naga traditions are of Pallava (South Indian) origin. The king may not eat grains but is fed on rago. Should he do otherwise the year would be a dry one and grain dear. He bathes in rose-water—should he use ordinary water, there would be a great flood....Besides the natural products of the country which include tortoise-shell, camphor, different varieties of rice, cloves, cardam and cardamoms, one can find here foreign products such as pearls, incense, rose-water, gardenia flowers, civet, musk, sea-tortoise (‘P’), ivory, coral, cotton cloth, sword blades, etc. Arabs and others settled in the country, and foreign merchants come to sell (their goods) exchanging them for gold, silver, silk stuffs, sugar, rice, camphor, etc. This country, controlling the straits through which the foreigners’ traffic must pass, keeps the pirates of other

[†] Translation by Friedrich Hirth and W. Beckh, 1912.

countries in check by using an iron chain as a barrier which can be raised or lowered at will by an ingenious device... If a merchant ship passes by without halting (at the port of Saseibō)—the boats of this country attack that vessel. Therefore, this country is a great shipping centre."

Fifteen states are mentioned by Chan Ju-Kua as dependencies of Saseibō (Śrīvijaya) among which are Pāhōng, Kōka, Kīlanta and some other localities in the Malaya Peninsula and Sumāta or Western Java, and curiously, the last name in this list of dependencies is Ceylon. Three hundred years before this Chinese work was written the Arab Masūdī wrote in his 'Prairies of Gold' about the Maharaja who was the king of the island of Kāha (Śrīvijaya), of Kalah (Kala), of Śrīraṣṭī (Koylā), etc.*

When the list of Chan Ju-Kua was being prepared (1225 A.D.), Java had just come under the Singamari dynasty which was going to make a breach in this balance of power maintained between the two powerful island kingdoms. In 1293 a Javanese expedition conquered Sumā (in Sumatra) and left traces of Javanese supremacy in the heart of the island. A counter-attack by Śrīvijaya followed. But the Majapahit heirs of the Singamari undertook systematically the conquest of the Archipelago. In 1297 Palembang (Śrīvijaya) also fell—this time for good and all. A hundred years later the Majapahit power of Java also waned away. A period of seven centuries was thus closed which began with Palembang (Śrīvijaya) as the dominant power, which was then followed by a balance of power between Java and Sumatra and which ended in complete Javanese supremacy.

This subjection of Palembang (Śrīvijaya) by Majapahit was a sad end of Śrīvijaya's greatness. The Javanese deliberately neglected the country in order to destroy a rival. They did not come in sufficient numbers themselves to settle in Sumatra, and the local authority was put in the hands of the Chinese settlers. Palembang being an important trade centre attracted Chinese merchants who not only Arab merchants from the west. The heads of this Chinese colony made piracy their chief business. The country, in spite of its fertility, lay uncultivated and really it was a time of general decay.

We should compare this sad picture of Palembang under Javanese supremacy with the condition of Central Java under Sumatran influence in the 8th and 9th centuries. The beautiful temple of Kalasan and many other noble shrines were constructed in Java towards the end of the 8th century by order of the Śailendra Kings of Śrīvijaya. A short time

* L'États Sumatrans de Śrīvijaya par G. Ferrand, p. 14, note (8).

later rose Borobudur—the most wonderful Buddhist stupa in the world. In the galleries of Borobudur, orthodox Mahayana legends (we have already seen that the rulers of Shrivijaya were fervent Mahayanists) are portrayed in a harmonious whole, having the evident object of giving the faithful, as they are ascending the monument, the impression that they are also ascending spiritually. The unadorned and plain character of the upper terraces is in striking contrast to the rich decoration so lavishly applied to the lower stories of the edifice.* The bas-reliefs of Mahayanist Borobudur are based on the Lalita Vistara, though the artists have given a local touch to the reliefs, for the back-ground is not Indian but Javanese. According to Prof. Krom the stupa form of architecture was introduced into Java by Sumatran architects. For though Java is rich in antiquities, the stupa form is represented in Java only by Borobudur, whereas in Sumatra several stupas occur even in ancient monuments.

Finally Prof. Krom states that the strikingly harmonious character of the distribution of the decorative parts, the wonderful care shown by the artists as to the fitting in of the details to the whole, which we find in Borobudur, do not survive in later Javanese architecture. In Sumatra these characteristics survived longer. Therefore, Sumatran artists must have introduced these features in the Buddhist temples of this Sumatran period in Central Java. Thus the view of the absolute superiority of Java in political power, art, and culture will now have to be given up.

* N. L. Krom—*De Sumatranische periode der Javanische geschiedenis*. The first and the last part of this paper are based mainly on this work.

JAVA AND SUMATRA IN INDIAN LITERATURE

The fourth Canto of the Ramayana contains considerable geographical details. Rāma has been stolen away by Ravana, Saptarī, the monkey-king, who has become the ally of Ravana, sends searching parties to the four cardinal points and for each of them describes the itinerary to be followed. He begins with the eastern route. After describing the regions through which the Jumnā, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra flow—he passes on to Indo-China. After the description of the Isle with the wall of gold (Savaradvīpa or Sumatra?) we come to the well-known passage:—"With all your efforts reach Yavadvīpa (the island of Java), adorned with seven kingdoms, the Isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold; then beyond the Isle of Yava to the mountain Śrīkṣīra whose peak touches the sky and which is the abode of gods and devas."

Is this passage a later interpolation? Prof. Sylvain Levi in his "Pour l'Histoire du Ramayana" (1918) gives reasons for ascribing an early date to it. The Buddhist Sanskrit work *Saddharmaśrāvastvapaṭṭhana sūtra* (बुद्धधर्मश्रावस्तवसूत्र) contains a passage which gives a description of Yavadvīpa. This passage follows closely the *Īgṛamaṇa* (ईग्रामण) in the Ramayana. Countries, rivers, seas, etc. are mentioned in the same order. But Java is not mentioned here, though the Isle with the wall of gold is to be found here too. Now this work was translated into Chinese in 328 A.D. by a Buddhist coming from Pagan. According to Sanku Chandra Das, Ichvaghosa wrote a commentary on this sūtra. This would take us to the period of Kaniska i.e. the end of the 1st Century A.D., or the beginning of the second century.

Ptolemy refers to Java as *Javadvīpa* (Yavadvīpa). We do not know the exact date of the geography of Ptolemy. He was an astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography mainly with the object of drawing a map of the world with latitudes and longitudes and incidentally he has briefly described the countries referred to in his work. He himself admits that he relies on descriptions given by travellers such as Marin of Tyre. His work can be assigned approximately to the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

Ptolemy thus describes Java:—"Javadvīpa, which means the Isle of barley (so Ptolemy knew the meaning of the Sanskrit name Yavadvīpa, of the island), is said to be of extraordinary fertility and produces plenty of gold. The capital is Angra (the city of silver) situated at its western

extremely." Between India and Java Ptolemy places a series of islands inhabited by cannibals (the parasakata of the Ramayana).

Oderic de Pordenone (in 1316) follows the Ramayana more closely than Ptolemy in his description of Java. "Near Sumatra there is a large island. The king of this island has seven kingdoms under him." Oderic then mentions the walls of the king's palace as being of gold. Is this a reminiscence (as Prof. Levi suggests) of the tale with the wall of gold?

In the *Etudes Asiatiques* published in 1925, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Prof. Levi has contributed an article 'Ptoléma, Le Nilosse et Le Brahmanha.' From the Nilosse, a commentary on the Pali Buddhist Canon, Prof. Levi cites a passage in which different kinds of torments are enumerated:—"Again, under the sway of passions which dominate the soul in quest of enjoyment, he embarks on the great sea which is sometimes icy cold, sometimes burning hot, troubled with mosquitoes, etc., suffering from hunger and thirst; he goes to Gumba, Takola, Takasala, Kalamatha, Marasapam, Yessaga, Vessapatha, Java, Tamsi, Vanga, Khavaddhara, Sabaraskala, Savarashbani, Tambapanni, Sappara, Bhurakasha, Saratha, Agastia, Gangara, Paramapangasa, Tona, Paramayasa, Alasanda, Marashatara, Janapatha, Apapatha, Mandhapatha, Samhapatha, Chittapatha, Vainapatha, Saranapatha, Muckapatha, Haripatha, Vettachara; and then again he is tormented, very much tormented." The same series of place names appears in an identical form in another passage of the same work. By comparing it with similar lists in the *Milinda Panha* and in the *Ekoka Saragaha* (which is based on the much older *Brahmanha*), Prof. Levi comes to the conclusion that it is a stereotyped series giving the names of places a navigator might visit while sailing along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, i. e. seaside localities in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and Sumatra and then sailing for India via Ceylon (Tambapanni). We come then to the ports on the western coast of India.—Sappara (Sopara), Bhurakasha (Broach), Saratha (Surat) and, after some stages difficult to identify, we pass on to the Greek country (Yona), to Greater Greece (Parama Yona), to Alasandria (Alasanda). Takola (the second name in the list) was situated on the western coast of the isthmus of Kra. Takasala, which comes just after Takola, is not Tharila but the 'Takasana' (near Kral) of Ptolemy's map of Transganga India. Vanga, which is mentioned soon after Java, is not Bengal but the island of Bangka between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Sabarashbani corresponds to the Chryse of the Greek and Roman writers. It is a comprehensive

known for the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal. This region was the El Dorado of Indian adventurers. Suvastakuta is probably identical with the Suvastakudyaka in Kautilya's *Artha-Shastra*. In the chapter where Kautilya deals with valuable objects Suvastakudyaka is described as a country of rare and precious products such as white sandal (the best variety of which is to be found in the Archipelago) diamonds, etc. Probably it is to be located somewhere in Sumatra. The list of 'paths' or *patthas* is to be found also in the *Sloka-Samgraha* (which must have taken it from the *Brahmatala*). Thus the *Ajapatha* means 'the path of goats' (where goats only can be used for carrying merchandise), *Mordha-patha*—the path of tugs, *Sanku-patha*—the path of spikes (the steep ascents having to be climbed with the help of spikes), *Chatta-patha*—the path of umbrellas (where big umbrellas were to be used as parachutes for getting down) and so on.

In the *Saptiparvanaka*, Prof. Levi points out, how before Saptiya reaches the land of gold he has to scale mountains by driving iron spikes into the rock and sometimes he has to use a ladder of meat (the vocabulary of our list).*

So these extraordinary 'paths' were familiar to the adventurers who went to Suvastakuta in quest of gold.

To sum up, Prof. Levi is of the opinion that the passage referred to in the *Middha* (which cannot be later than the first century A.D.) corresponds closely with Ptolemy's map as regards this series of places which were all on the sea route from the Burmese coast, via Java, Ceylon and the western coast of India, to Alexandria. Probably Sappura (Sarpataka or Sopara) in the neighbourhood of Bombay was the great emporium from which the merchant vessels sailed both east and west along this route.

Another mention of Java has been found by Prof. Sylvain Levi in the "Traité of the twelve stages of Buddhism" translated into Chinese in 322 A.D. by the monk Kalodatta:—"In the ocean there are 2200 kingdoms of which 180 consist of islands and the rest on land and tertia. The kingdom of the ruler of the first island is Sava-li, this kingdom serves only the Buddha;...The fourth (island) is Cho-ya. It produces the long pepper (*pipa*) as well as ordinary pepper." Sava-li, Prof. Levi is sure, is Ceylon, devoted to Buddha being one of the traditions of the island. Cho-ya, he thinks, is Java which is usual for Java. The 'pipa' is *pippla* in Sanskrit. The *Cho* has also a Chinese

* The episode of the 'vitranapatha' or the path of birds in the *Brahmatala* may be the source from which the story of Sindbad and his adventure with the merchants may have been derived. The adventures of Sindbad the sailor have probably their basis in ancient Indian travellers' tales.

work of the 18th century) mentions pepper as one of the chief products of Java.

In 628 A.D. Buddhism was preached in Java by the famous Guanyesman. He was a Kshatriya prince belonging to the royal family of Kashmir.* When only 14 he convinced his mother that hunting wild animals was improper. When he was 30 years of age the King of Kashmir died without issue and the ministers, knowing him to be the eldest member of the royal family, begged him to come out of his secluded religious life and accept the throne. To avoid their importunities Guanyesman left Kashmir. He reached Ceylon and was acknowledged there as one who had attained the highest stage of spiritual life. Then he went to Java. The night before his arrival the mother of the king of Java dreamt that a holy man, mounted on a flying cloud, was coming to her country. When Guanyesman arrived the next morning, the king's mother was converted by him to Buddhism. At her bidding, her son, the king of Java, also accepted the tenets of Buddhism. Shortly afterwards the kingdom was invaded by the army of a neighbouring prince. Guanyesman, on being asked by the king whether he should resist the enemy by force of arms, replied that it was the king's duty to defend his realm but at the same time he should not harbour in his mind any cruel thoughts. The enemy fled in disorder without any fighting. A monastery was erected by the king in honour of Guanyesman who, however, in his ardent desire to propagate the true faith left for China soon afterwards in a ship belonging to a Hindu merchant of the name of Nandi.

Towards the end of the 8th century A. D. Aryabhatta, the astronomer of Ujjain, wrote :—"When the sun rises in Ceylon it is midday in Yavakuti and midnight in the land of the Romans."

In the Surya-Siddhanta (an astronomical work which can be dated back to the 8th century A.D., though the work in its present form dates from the 11th century), we find the passage :—"At quarter of the circumference of the earth, eastwards to the land of Shalishaka (the Eastern Division of the earth), is the famous walled Yavakuti with golden walls and gates."

I-tsing, who stayed in Shrivijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) for seven years (688-695), states that the king of Shrivijaya possessed ships sailing between India and his own kingdom. It was in a ship belonging to this king that the Chinese pilgrim left Sumatra for Taverdipi in India. He also describes Shrivijaya as a great centre of Sanskrit

* Guanyesman—translated from the Chinese into French by Edmond Chavannes. *Tourne-pied*, 1904.

causing. I-tsing mentions many other Chinese monks as having in this kingdom to learn Sanskrit before visiting India.*

From the *Manjushrinidalsolpa* (written about the 8th century), Prof. Sylvain Levi cites a passage in which the islands of Karmavanga (near I-gor from which we have got the fruit Karmavang), the Isle of Cocanada, Varanada (Baros in Sumatra), and the Isles of the Ende (Nicobar, Bali and Java are mentioned as places where the language is indistinct, rude and too full of the letter 'v'.

Apart from Sanskrit works, Tamil texts also mention Java. The Tamil poem *Manimagalai* mentions a town Nagapattanam in Saraba-nada which is the Tamil name for Yavadvipa. Two kings of Nagapattanam are mentioned—*Uttari-chandra* and *Prayuraja* who claimed descent from India.

The name of *Shrivijaya* (in Sumatra) occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Chola dynasty of South India. In the reign of Rajaraja I. (945-1012 A. D.), a Sanskrit inscription commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple of Nagapattanam commenced by Chudamanivarmam and finished by his son Haravijayottunggavarman—the last being described as King of Kutaba (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) and *Shrivijaya*.

Again in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I. (1012-1043 A. D.), we have the following account of the Chola King's naval successes:—"Having sent numerous ships into the midst of the moving ocean and having seized Sangramavijayottunggavarman, King of Kadaram, together with his elephants—he took also the treasures which that king had accumulated...the prosperous *Shrivijaya*...the ancient *Malayur* (Jambi in Sumatra) with a fort situated on a high hill..."

The conquest by the Chola King must have been a very temporary one. In 1028 another Chola King Virarajendra I, says that after having conquered Kadaram (one of the feudatory states under *Shrivijaya*), he had to restore it to the vanquished King, "as it was too far off beyond the moving sea." A few years later it is *Shrivijaya* which claims suzerainty over the Cholas. At least its ambassadors say so at the Chinese Court.

Coming to North Indian epigraphy we find Sumatra and Java mentioned in the 9th century copper-plate of Devapala of the Paladynasty of Bengal. This inscription, which was discovered at Nalanda in 1921, states that Devapala being requested by the illustrious Maharaja Balaputradewa, King of Saravandvipa (Sumatra), granted five villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the King of

* *Vinayas des pelesies Buddhiques*, P. Chevreton.

† *Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien des Indes* 1923, Prof. S. Levi.

Saravasthīpa. The mother of Mahānāga's Balasakrutadeva, the inscription tells us, was Yara, the daughter of a King Dharmasena of the lunar race and the queen of the mighty King who was the son of the renowned ruler of "Tavahāna"—the ornament of the Shālistendra dynasty (of Śatrujahā). "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda and through devotion to the son of Shuddhodana—he (the King of Saravasthīpa) built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the surface of stuccoed and lofty buildings...."

The Tibetan work of Kālyana Mītra, *Phyag-sarpa* (written about the middle of the 13th century) mentions the visit to Saravasthīpa of the great Bengali Monk Dipankara (Atiśa—980-1053 A. D.) who established Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet. The following extract is from the life of Atiśa in the "Indian Parāṇa in Tibet" by Saṅg Chandra Dāsa:—"There is a country filled with precious minerals and stones called Saravasthīpa in the neighbourhood of Jambudvīpa. Lama Gser glin-pa was born in the royal family of that country. With a view to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma, he obtained leave from his father to go to Jambudvīpa (India) for a pilgrimage to Vajrasana (the Bodhi Gaya temple). The great Acharya Mañju Śrī Kāma was at Vajrasana and the prince became attached to him. But the Acharya consented to instruct him in Dharma only when the prince vowed to give up imperial power and become a hermit. The Acharya gave him the name of Dharma-kīrti of Saravasthīpa. Then returning to Saravasthīpa he converted all who had been devoted to the Tirthika religion to Buddhism. Though he resided in Saravasthīpa his name became known everywhere abroad."

"In the company of some merchants Dipankara (Atiśa) embarked for Saravasthīpa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were afflicted by terrible storms. At this time Saravasthīpa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East and its High Priest Dharmakīrti was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. Dipankara (Atiśa) resided there for a period of 12 years in order to master completely the pure teachings of Buddha of which the key was possessed by Dharmakīrti alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel visiting Tamradvīpa (Ceylon) and the island of Sumatra on his way."

In a Nepalese manuscript with annotations* dating from about the 11th century, the first ministers has the explanatory

* Foster—*Buddhism in Nepal*—*Monographs of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, p. 70, 189 and 191.

note, "Dipankara in Yavadvipa." Yavadvipa often meant Sumatra as well as Java. Another miniature in this manuscript bears the title of "Laksmaditta at Shrivijayapura in Savaravipra." So Shrivijaya in Sumatra was known to the Nepalese artist of the 13th century.

In the *Kalkatantrapana* of Somadewa, which, though belonging to the 13th century, is based on the much older *Brahmavata* by Ganesha, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Savaravadvipa and other islands of the name of Naribala, Karpura and Kataka, Kodak.

In the *Ras Mala*, the Hindu songs of Gujarat, there is mentioned a common saying of that part of the country :— "He who leaves for Java never comes back. If he comes back by chance, he brings silver enough for two generations."

Such is the literary evidence we possess of the intercourse between India and the islands of the Malay Archipelago for about a thousand years.

THE RAMAYANA IN JAVA

There exist several recensions—early, medieval and comparatively recent—of the Ramayana in Java both in verse and in prose. Episodes of the Ramayana survive to this day in the Javanese shadow plays (the Wayang) and stories which are still very popular with the people. The Rama literature in the Archipelago displays however such marked divergences from the epic of Valmiki that until lately it was assumed that the Javanese had taken great liberties with the Ramayana. But scholars are beginning to think that the Javanese may have got their traditions of Rama from other Indian versions of the hero's exploits besides Valmiki's poem.*

European scholars believe that the main distinction between the older and the later versions of Rama's career is that in the former Rama is the great hero whereas in the latter he is an incarnation of Vishnu. In the third and latest stage, through which the Rama tradition has passed, Rama becomes the Supreme Divinity who has become man for his love of Humanity. When the Hindus reached Java the Rama tradition had not yet reached the third stage.

The Rama tradition has followed in the wake of Indian colonising activities and has spread all over south-eastern Asia. The deeds of the Indian hero are still represented in the puppet shows of Burma. In Siam the King is an incarnation of Rama. The last King was Rama VI. Rama's capital is localised as the old capital Ayutthia (Ayodhya) of Siam. Laphan (Larapuri) is one of the most ancient towns in Siam. The oldest Siamese inscription is that of Rama Kachang who founded the Siamese Kingdom on the ruins of the Khmer empire. The writer has seen representations of scenes from the Ramayana worked in silver on the gates of the principal Buddhist temple (Wat Chata Pua) of Bangkok.

In a 6th century inscription of Cambodia we find the following passage:—"With the Ramayana and the Purana he (the Brahman Somakharana) gave the complete Mahabharata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption..... Whoever participates in this reading—may a

* Willem Stutterheim—*Rama Legends and Rama Epics in Indonesia*. This paper is mainly based on Stutterheim's scholarly work.

portion of the fruit of this great and virtuous act go to his credit....¹²⁸

The princes of Kamboja (Cambodia as distinguished from the older Kingdom of Funan) traced their descent from the solar dynasty.

In an inscription¹²⁹ of Yashovarmān (555-569 A. D.) the construction of the new capital Yashodharapura (Angkor Thom) is thus referred to in words having a double meaning :—"He who defended Kambojapuri (the capital of Kamboja), impregnable (Ajradhya), of terrifying aspect (Vibhavana), with the aid of good councillors (with Somastha as his friend) and with prosperity (Sila) as its ornament, like the descendant of Raghu."

The 'Hama-ching-er-ri,' at present known as Ba Pean, was constructed by Jayavarman V. of Kamboja (938-1001 A. D.) and is one of the finest pyramidal temples of Cambodia. Among the Rama reliefs, found on the walls of the highest gallery, may be mentioned the interview between Rama and Lakshmana with Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva and Bali, Sita in the grove of Ashoka trees handing the jewel to Hanuman, battle scenes in which Hanuman plays the chief part, the ten-headed Ravana in a chariot driven by lions facing Rama who is carried by Hanuman, the union of Sita and Rama and Sita enthroned.

Angkor Vat, the most famous Vaishnava temple of Cambodia, was built in the last half of the 12th century. Among the innumerable bas reliefs, which adorn its galleries, are several scenes from the Ramayana such as Rama pursuing Maricha, the death of Kabandha, the alliance of Rama with Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva and Bali, Hanuman finding Sita in Lanka, the Lanka battle-field, viz. ending with the return of Rama and Sita in the aerial chariot Pushpaka.

The old chronicles of the Annamese describe the people of Champā (South Annam), who were their mortal enemies, as descendants of monkeys and cite the following tradition to corroborate this :—"In ancient times, beyond the frontiers of Annam, there was a kingdom the king of which was known as the king of demons or as Dushasana. To the north of this realm was the country of Ho Ton Tih where reigned the king Dusharatha. The son of this king of the name of Ch'ing-Tu, had a wife—the princess Bach-Tih. She was a peerless beauty. The king of the demons

¹²⁸ Inscription of Vasū Karti—Inscriptions Sanscrits de Champā et du Cambodge—p. 24.

¹²⁹ Op. cit. Champā 21, p. 146.

¹³⁰ U. Baupers—Le Royaume de Champā, p. 62.

because enamoured of her, invaded the kingdom of Ho To Tish, seized the princess and carried her away. The prince Ching-To, whose anger was roused, put himself at the head of an army of monkeys. The monkeys made a passage for themselves by bridging the sea with incense-sticks which they tore off from their peddlers. The kingdom of Diou-aghien was conquered and the king of demons slain. The princess Hach-Tish was taken back to her country. The people of Ho To Tish were of the monkey race and the Chinese (the people of Champa) are their descendants.

M. Robert, commenting on this passage cited, says:—"The Assamite writer supposes that the episode of the Hanayana took place in Champa and this is a reason for believing that the story need not be traced back to the Dasharatha Jataka in the Chinese Buddhist canon; it is probably the distant echo of that which was once the national epic of Champa and which is now lost." So he thinks that there was a Hanayana in the Cham language.

Hanuman is mentioned in Tibetan books. The Tibetans suppose themselves to be descended from monkeys and they say that they had tails for a long time.

The story of Rama has penetrated into China with the Jambavanata sutra and the Dasharatha Jataka incorporated in the Buddhist scriptures.

It comes back to Java—it was in 1883 that the monkey scenes in the Prambanan (Temple in Central Java) has relieved to the identification of these representations with episodes of the Hanayana. Dr. Vogel, who was busy with these reliefs in 1881, came to the conclusion that a traditional story might have been the source of these representations rather than any definite text. Prof. Krom says that these reliefs have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The small deviations from the Sanskrit epic led Dr. Stutterheim to look for some other text which had yet to be discovered. Often these deviations have been explained as deformations of the text but Dr. Stutterheim is no believer in this theory.

These discrepancies in the Prambanan reliefs, however, are mostly in trifling details. The question now arises whether there had appeared in India similar discrepancies by the end of the 8th century—the period to which the Prambanan group of temples is assigned. The account of Rama's career in the Mahabharata differs in some respects from the version of the Hanayana. The Mahabharata account does not connect itself with what happened after the return of Rama from Ceylon. There is also some difference in Rama's genealogy in the Hanayana and the Mahabharata.

* Robert—La Légende de Hanayana en Assam. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Tora, V.

versions. Again in the Mahabharata there is nothing of Rama's journey to Mithila, breaking Hanu's bow and Sita's Swayamvara. Dr. Stutterheim does not agree with Prof. Jacobi that the account in the Mahabharata is a hasty copy of Valmiki's epic. He thinks that it is independent of the Ramayana and probably should be traced to some oral tradition. From other versions of Rama's life (e. g. Bhavabhuti's Mahaviracharita, some of the Puranas, etc.) sufficient divergences can be shown even in the classical period of Sanscrit literature.

In the old Japanese Ramayana Kakawin, the divergences are neither numerous nor important. Moreover the Kakawin is not complete. There is no definite information as to the date of this work. We can only judge from the language. Prof. Kern would ascribe it to the Kadiri period which was the golden age of Kawi literature. The author probably did not know Sanskrit. It has a Valmiki character and the Kadiri dynasty was also Valmiki. It was probably written about the same time as the Bharat Yudha—i. e. about 1100 A. D. In the Serat Rama by Jasadhipura, a work much appreciated in Javanese literary circles, the early history of Ramana is found which is not given in the Kakawin. Here too, there are not many divergences and the book is free from the distortions introduced later on, as we shall see, in the later Javanese works on this subject and in the Malay Ramayana. The Javanese Uttarakanda (the 7th canto of the Ramayana does not exist in the Kakawin) is a prose paraphrase of the Sanskrit Uttarakanda. This first group (consisting of the Kakawin, the Serat Rama and the Uttarakanda), without following Valmiki verbatim, give us the whole the orthodox Indian version.

The second group is represented by the Rama Kling, the Serat Kandas and other less known works such as the Ramayana Samak, Rama Nitik, etc. This group closely approaches the Malay version of the Ramayana. The Malay Hikayat Seri Rama* is probably based on this second group of Javanese texts. In popular dramas still staged for the entertainment of the people, it is this second group and not the first which serves as the basis. These pieces for the theatre have been worked up on episodes of the Javanese Ramayana such as the birth of Dasharatha (Ravana), Dasharatha's abduction of a Vidyardhari (Indra) is represented as the son of this Vidyardhari, Rama's marriage, etc. The old Javanese Ramayanas (the Kakawin, etc.) are sometimes quoted in these dramatised representa-

* Translated in No. 70 of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1917.

times but nobody understands them. The influence of the first group has been superficial on the growth of the Rama tradition in Java.

The *Serat Kandah* begins with Adam in Mecca with his sons Abel and Kabil and Seth. We get then a curious association of Noah and Idris (401). We come next to the account of the births of Vayu and Vaiski and Muslim figures then disappear. The genealogy of early Javanese kings is worked into the story. The *Ramayana* begins with Canto 32 and only in Canto 46 is the birth of Rama given. In the Cantos 34 to 45 the ancestors of Rama and Sita are discussed—some of whom are ancestors of Javanese princes.

In this work Rama is called *Sharyana*, Lakshmana *Mardhaka* and Sita *Sita*; Javana is *Kala* and Jataya *Jataya*, Hanuman (*Anuraga*), who is the son of Rama, and Sita when both of them were temporarily metamorphosed into apes, lose his tail which he recovers in the sea of sand.

Just at the point where the invasion of Lanka is going to begin, the author digresses into the story of the Pandavas. In Canto 70 the story of Rama is again taken up. Then the sequel after Rama's death is related. Rama is buried under a mountain. Then follows the episode of the fan (with Rama's picture on it) which Sita unwittingly handles. This leads to estrangement between Rama and Sita. The couple are however reconciled at the hermitage of Kala (*Javana*). Towards the end we have the marriage of the daughter of Indragit with Bat-Lava (*Lava*). *Ditjapapara* is mentioned as the capital of Lava. Finally Sita consents to be crowned with Rama on condition that in the next life she would be his sister.

The difference between the conclusion of the *Serat Kandah* and Valmiki's *Uttarakanda* is so great that the former must be ascribed to a different source altogether. Dr. Stutterheim believes that other versions besides that of Valmiki may have been the basis for these Javanese divergences. The fame of Valmiki has made us forget that there were also other (formerly well-known) accounts of the life of Rama.

In the *Serat Kandah* there is firstly a combination of Mohammedan tales and of the deeds of Rama. In the third canto, Shiva is mentioned as a descendant of Adam. In the Malay version, as we shall see, the Muslim element is more conspicuous. Secondly, in the *Serat Kandah*, the story of Rama forms an organic whole with early legends of Javanese dynasties. These Javanese books of the second group may be taken as Javanese Parsons working up local legends with the orthodox Indian traditions.

As regards the Malay *Ramayana*, Dr. Brandes believes

that a great part of it consists of old native legends which have nothing to do with the story of Rama. The best known manuscript of this work was written late in the 18th century. It came into the possession of Archbishop Leard and was passed on to the Bodleian/Oxford Library in 1822.* It is evidently based on the Javanese Rama legends of the second group. Ravana is banished by his father, put on board a ship and finds himself at last in Sarnadip (Ceylon). He leads the rigorous life of an ascetic for twelve years at the end of which period Adam appears before him. Ravana requests Adam to intercede for him. Such is the beginning and then we go through what seems to me a strangely distorted account of the familiar story of Rama.

The question arises how far these differences are local in origin or whether they can be traced to different versions of the Rama tradition in India itself. In the Malay version Dasharatha's first wife is found in a bamboo thicket and according to the *Serat Kandas* the second wife is also found in a bamboo grove. But in Indian folk-tale also there are some instances like this and it may not be Indonesian in origin. The part which Kaba Duri (Kalyani) plays is different from that which she plays in the Ramayana. She held up with her hand Dasharatha's litter when it is breaking. In the *Adhyatma Ramayana* there is also a mention of the breaking of the litter in addition to Kalyani's healing the wounds of Dasharatha. In the Malay version Rama, when quite young, saves a bunch-backed woman (Manihara). In Ksemendra's *Ramayana* Kaba Bartha Manjari, Rama's rough treatment of Manihara led to her action against him.

Again in the Malay version and in the *Serat Kandas* Sita is apparently Ravana's daughter by Mandodari (really in both of these works she is the daughter of Dasharatha and Mandodari). As soon as she is born she is put in a box and thrown into the sea. Jambha (Kala in Javanese) finds the box while performing his morning ablutions, takes out Sita and brings her up. In the *Adhyatma Ramayana* Garuda curses Lakshmi that she is to be born as a Rakshasi. In the *Shivayana* version also Sita is the daughter of Ravana. In a Ceylonese tale Sita is born of the blood of ascetics collected by Ravana.† In the *Uttarapurana* of the Jains, Sita is also the daughter of Ravana. Nearest to the Malay version is a folk-tale from Gujarat (Indian Antiquary, X.XII, p. 319) in which a man's daughter is put in a box and

* See No. 79, Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1917.

† Indian Antiquary, XLV, p. 84. This tale has been heard by the writer in the hills of the Kanger District.

float down the sea to a fisherman's hut and later on the father comes to win her hand in marriage.

In the Malay version (the manuscript of *Hydras*—not that of *Lead*) we find Lakshmana leading an ascetic life (without sleeping or partaking of any food) for twelve years just as in the Bengali version of *Krittibasa*.

In the Malay version Lakshmana draws a line (a charmed circle) round Sita's dwelling place before he leaves to help Rama who is supposed to be in distress. *Krittibasa* also describes the same procedure in his popular poem.

The abduction of Rama into *Patala* (stern, the underground world) occurs in the Malay version as well as in the Bengali and Gujrati popular *Ramayanas*. In a Purāṇic story *Madhuchandrabh* is the son of Hanuman by a fish-goddess whom the monkey chief wins on his visit to *Patala* in quest of Rama. A son of Hanuman by a princess of the subterranean regions is mentioned also in the Malay version.

Most of the divergences in the Javanese and Malay accounts of the *Lanka Kanda* can probably be deduced from Indian sources. In the Malay version *Ravana* falls when Rama shoots off his small head (he had ten heads) behind his right ear. Then again *Ravana* is immortal and cannot die. We find this also in popular Bengali accounts.

The episode of Sita and the fan with *Ravana's* picture, which we have already referred to in the *Sarut Kanda*, occurs in the Bengali tale of *Chandraseval* where the same story is told of *Kalkaji's* daughter *Kalma* (*Haseeh Chandra Sen's* *Lectures on Ramayana*—p. 187 and seq.)

Kasha is in the *Ceylonese* as well as in the Malay version created out of *Kasha* given by *Valmiki* when the real child is found to be missing. The account of the fighting which takes place between Rama and his sons (without their knowing each other) is to be found in *Bengal* as well as in the Malay *Anshupada*.

In what relation do these variations (most of which can be traced to India) stand to *Valmiki's* epic? Some of these stories may be older than the epic itself and certainly they are cruder.* E.g. in some of the earlier versions Sita is *Ravana's* real daughter. In the Malay *Itihasat Sarit Rama* and the *Sarut Kanda* she is only apparently *Ravana's* daughter. In *Valmiki's* epic there is no relationship between *Ravana* and Sita. Sita's story has been adapted, according to Dr. *Sturtevant*, to the stage of civilisation of the period to which the story belongs. Therefore, he thinks that instead of accusing the Javanese of having tampered with the *Rama*

* Cf. Dr. C. Sen, *op. cit.*

tradition to cast their own shadow on life—the same charge may be levelled against Valmiki himself for having given us a refined version of earlier and cruder accounts.

At first it was supposed by some of the Dutch scholars that the Tamil Ramayana might be the basis of the Javanese and Malay versions. But the Tamil Ramayana of Kambur follows Valmiki closely. The popular tales in the Indonesian (Javanese, Malay, etc.) versions approach closely some of those popular editions current in Gujarat, Panjab and Bengal. A tradition still existing in Java ascribes the colonisation of the island by emigrants from Gujarat. This was probably due to the fact that from the 15th century the Gujaratis were in Java as merchants, sailors and sailors. Epigraphical evidence does not support the tradition of any Gujarati influence in earlier times. Nor, as regards the divergences in the Indonesian Ramayanas, can any monopoly be attributed to the influence of the Gujarati versions.

Dr. Stutterheim thus sums up this question. No single definite recession has as yet been traced in India from which the Indonesian (Javanese and Malay) versions could have been derived. There has been a very mixed influence—principally of oral traditions some of which have come down from very ancient times. Valmiki's work, according to Dr. Stutterheim, represents a later and more refined civilisation. The Javanese and Malay versions, having preserved some of the more primitive traditions, should be more interesting from the anthropological point of view than the literary and polished Ramayanas of the orthodox School.

The Rama tradition is still a living force in the Java of to-day. The Javanese have so completely assimilated the famous legends that even their foreign origin has been forgotten. For the great mass of the population, Rama and the Pandavas are truly national heroes, born and bred in the Isle of Java. The extreme favour which these Indian stories have found and retained until now among all classes of society, is not so much due to their having being sung in famous old Javanese poems, as to that most popular of entertainments—the Wayang or shadow-show. Indians familiar with their Mahabharata and Ramayana would be surprised to see Arjuna, Krishna and Rama appear here in the quaint garb of Wayang puppets, which in their strangely fantastical, yet unmistakably artistic character, are the true children of Indonesian art. Stranger still are the clowns who invariably accompany the hero, be it Arjuna or Rama, and who contribute not a little to the delight of the audience by their good-humoured, though not always delicate, jokes. These clowns or 'pandawans'—Ganan, the father, and

his two sons, Pabrah and Kalagarong—are undoubtedly as Indonesian in origin as they are in name.⁶

The principal river of Central Java is still known as the Soraya (i. e. Sorayu on the bank of which was situated the capital of Majas).

Near to the Borobudur the most striking ancient monument in Java is the Prambanan group of Hindu temples. The ruins of Prambanan are part of a still bigger group of dilapidated shrines known as Candi (Javanese word for temple) Lura Jengrong. The princess Laura Jengrong is well-known in Javanese folk-lore. It was in vain her husband, as says the popular story, that the thousand temples of Candi Sewu (in the vicinity of Prambanan) were built in a single night by a witch according to a wager; he was however frustrated in his purpose by an unusually early dawn. These Hindu shrines are situated in the plain dominated by the volcano Merapi. The archaeological society of Jogjakarta (the nearest important town) commenced in 1885 the task of clearing up the tropical vegetation and the lava deposits under which the shrines had been buried for centuries. This work of restoration had an unexpected result. The Javanese, converted to Islam three centuries ago, thronged to visit the temple with offerings of incense and flowers. The French traveller Jules Lockroy, who saw *L'île de Java*, p. 147) even Hajis joining in this worship of the ancient Hindu images, remarks that the advent of the Muslim faith has not yet alienated the minds of the Javanese from their old beliefs.

The Laura Jengrong group of temples is surrounded on all sides by Buddhist shrines. There are eight main temples in this group and these dedicated to Shiva, Visnu and Brahma are in the middle. The general plan is grand in its simplicity. The eight large main shrines are built on a square terrace in the centre, round which are 160 small shrines arranged in three successive squares. The small shrines are now in an advanced state of decay. The main temples have resisted better the ravages of time.

Inscriptions of the Buddhist Shailendra Kings cease to appear in Central Java after the middle of the 9th century. After 815 A. D. we do not hear any more of Central Javanese rulers (this region being abandoned at that time). So the Prambanan group must have been constructed in the second half of the 9th century by a prince of the name of Daksa. An inscription of Prambanan mentions this name.

On the inner side of the balustrade of the Shiva temple are the famous Karmayana reliefs. From the outside, one

⁶ Dr. Vogel—*The Relation between the art of India and Java (The Influence of Indian Art, p. 101).*

cannot see anything of these splendid representations. The reliefs in the Shiva temple stop abruptly with the scene of bridging the sea. Probably the story was continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahma temple, some scattered remnants of which have been discovered. There are Krishna reliefs on the parapet of the Vishnu temple.

The first relief of the Ramayana series begins at the starting point of the prakalpas round Shiva's shrine. Here we have Garuda with the blue lotus, Vishnu reclining on the Shesha Naga and drifting on the sea which is full of crabs and fishes, and to the right a group of seated figures headed by an ascetic who offers something to Vishnu. Dr. Vogel says about this first relief: "It is interesting that this opening scene of the Rama story differs from the version both of the Sanskrit and the Old Javanese Ramayana (the Kakawin), but agrees in a remarkable way with the corresponding passage in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*. In the 19th canto of *Raghuvamsha*, the gods led by the rishi Bhrgu, invoke Vishnu in the midst of the waters of the ocean."

In the following scenes are depicted the visit of Vishvamitra to the court of Dasharatha, Tara's and another girl's being shot down with arrows by Rama, the interview with Janaka, Sita's Swayamvara, the breaking of the bow, Parashurama wearing women's dress facing Rama and Sita, Katheri talking to Dasharatha about the ladies' possessions (there are green coconuts *wa* and *wa* *wa* in the back-ground), a woman dancing a war dance, with a sword and a shield in her hands, before two princes, and Dasharatha in a melancholy attitude with Kanchaliya behind him.

Then we have a forest scene with three crowned figures in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by a pair of horses (Rama, Sita and Lakshmana leaving for the forest). In the next we find a group of workmen. One of them is putting a richly ornamented chest on an altar. Other servants (all with wavy hair like negroes) are apparently busy with some preparations. A lady is sitting with three money-bags in front of her. Is this the Shraddha ceremony after Dasharatha's death?

Then we have Rama handing over his sandals to Bharata, his combat with Viradha and another Rakshasa (with a horse on a wooden pile in the back-ground), Rama punishing the crew for vexing Sita, the visit of Sarpasakha, Rama shooting the golden deer, Sita being abducted by Ravana disguised as a Brahman, Ravana's struggle with Jajayu (Ravana and Sita are here carried on a platform which a winged demon bears on his head), Sita giving a ring to the wounded Jajayu, Jajayu handing over the ring to Lakshmana, Rama shooting Kabandha (who has got a hand on his shoulders

besides a second head in his belly, and Kabandha going to heaven seated on a lotus.

The next relief represents a prince shooting an arrow at a crocodile in a tank and a lady on the bank in the attitude of prayer. Is this the Shakari episode on the bank of the Pampa lake?

After that takes place the meeting with Hanuman. This was the first relief discovered and led to the whole series being identified with the Ramayana.

In the next, Sugriva is seen weeping on a tree. His tears are flowing into Lakshmana's quiver. In the Malay version Lakshmana brings water for Rama in his quiver. The water tastes like tears and this leads to the discovery of Sugriva.

Then we have the interview with Sugriva, Rama shooting his arrow through seven trees to show his prowess to Sugriva, the first fight between Bali and Sugriva, with Rama standing in a hovering attitude (a cockade on a tree in the back-ground, the second fight and death of Bali (Sugriva with a wreath of leaves round his waist), the wedding of Tara and Sugriva, Rama, Sugriva, etc., holding a consultation, the chief monkey warriors being presented to Rama, Hanuman jumping over to Lanka and Hanuman discovering Sita (a servant with woody hair in the back-ground). It should be noted that the servants in all the scenes in which they appear have woody hair. Naga slaves must already have been familiar figures in the Javanese courts.

The concluding scenes are:—the burning of Lanka by Hanuman with his flaming tail (here the artist has with a few scenes of humour introduced into this scene of confusion, the figure of an ascetic taking away treasures from a burning house), Hanuman reporting his exploits to Rama, Rama on the sea-shore, how in hand, and the sea-god rising from the waters, the building of the bridge and Sita swallowing up the stones. This last episode (of the swallowing of stones) is to be met with in the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama.

There are minor details where the Prambanan relief differs from the Ramayana of Valmiki such as for example:—the introduction of a second Rakshasi in the Taraka episode and a second Rakshasa in the combat with Viradha, the punishment of the crew, Sita's giving a ring to Jaiyu and Jaiyu handing over the ring to Lakshmana, Kavana being carried by a flying demon, the two heads of Kabandha, the different version of the first meeting with Sugriva, Rama desisting from shooting his arrow into the sea, the fishes swallowing up the stones used for making the bridge, etc. It is curious, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that as regards these variations, the relief, instead of following the contemporary Old Javanese Kakawin, seem to approach more closely the

second (later) group of Javanese Rama stories and the Malay version.

We may now leave Purnaban with the remark that nowhere else, whether in India, Cambodia or Siam, are the exploits of Rama carved in stone in such a detailed and, at the same time, truly artistic way.

Four hundred years passed after the construction of Purnaban before there rose in East Java the temple of Panaram with its Rama reliefs in an Indonesian style far removed from the orthodox Indian style of the earlier shrine (Purnaban). There is another point of difference as Rama and Krishna reliefs are both found in Panaram in the same temple, as there is only one shrine here.

Several dated inscriptions have been discovered in Panaram. The last date, corresponding to 1247 A. D., would bring us to the reign of the great queen of Majapahit, Jaya-visnu-vardhani, the mother of Hyam Wuruk. Probably the temple, which was begun by her predecessors, was finished during her reign. Purnaban was also known as Pala in the Majapahit period. In the Nagarakertagama Hyam Wuruk, the most famous of the Javanese emperors, is mentioned as visiting Pala several times to worship Shiva. So it is a Shiva temple and it is also the largest ancient building in East Java.

Harman's exploits in the Lanka Kāvya are represented in the Panaram reliefs. We may note among them,—Harman reaching Lanka, Rama and two of his queens seated in his treasury (which looks like a three-storied pagoda), Rama in the Ashoka grove, Sita with Tripala and Harman coming down from a tree to meet Sita. Then we have spirited battle scenes between Harman and Rama, trees uprooted, detachments of Rutas marching in martial array to meet Harman, huge elephants and dying Rakshas, etc. We are then introduced to Rama's court, we see messengers kneeling before the King and we get a glimpse of a Raksha plucking out the hairs of his beard with pincers. In the following scenes we find Harman breaking the arm of Sita, (Rama's son), the monkey warrior taking a sun-bath after all this toil and trouble and then hurrying back to the fight in the garden of colonial trees. Indragit then appears mounted on a horse (with nagabeads) with a snake around in his bow, Harman is bound in the coils of the nag-pastor (serpent) and is led a captive to Rama's presence. After that Harman burns the bows and with his flaming tail sets the palace on fire. We see women fleeing and Rama with his queen seeking refuge in his water-palace. Harman then leaves Lanka after again visiting Sita. In the final scenes are represented the construction of the bridge,

monkeys, bearing elaborate standards, reconnoitering the battle field, the beginning of the great fight, Hanuman killing a Rakshasa with a vajra and the death of Kamboja-karna.

The human faces are done badly in this series but the monkeys and demons are quite artistic.

The story as depicted in the Panataran reliefs, follows very closely the Old Javanese version of the Ramayana—the *Kakawin*. It is very strange, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that the 9th century Prambanan reliefs should be best explained by the much later Javanese Ramayana of the second group (the *Sorot Kundas*, etc.) and the Malay version based on them, while the 14th century Panataran scenes should agree closely with the earlier *Kakawin* (of the first group) which follows Valmiki pretty accurately. Is it because that in the later Javanese versions some of the older (and cruder) Indian traditions have been preserved which do not find a place in the *Kakawin* which follows the literary and polished text of Valmiki? Some of these unorthodox traditions are of the pre-Valmiki period which the great sage rejected as too crude for his own immortal version of the story (cp. D.C. Sen's *Ramayana*).

Finally the technique of the Panataran reliefs is pure Javanese (or Indonesian) as distinguished from the purely Indian style of Prambanan. Here too there is a revival of older indigenous traditions. The background in the Panataran pictures is full of magical symbols which must be survivals of very old Malay-Polynesian superstitions.

It is the art of Panataran which leads to the Wayang (the popular puppet shows of modern Java) and which still survives in the style of art which we find to-day in the island of Bali.

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